

# Hunza Burushaski

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## Introduction

Burushaski is a language isolate situated in Gilgit-Baltistan (previously known as the Northern Areas) of Pakistan. Typologically, it shows various agglutinative characteristics, and there are many kinds of prefixes and suffixes. The language has some Indian linguistic features, for example, echo-formation (see §4.4) and conjunctive participles (see §8.3). The typological peculiarities of Burushaski are seen in the approximant consonant *y* (see §2.1.1) and in the remarkable split among morphosyntactic case marking on nominals and personal markings on verbals (see §4).

In this grammatical sketch, I focus on the Hunza dialect of Burushaski.

## 1. Language and its speakers

### 1.1 Geography and genealogy

Burushaski (ISO 693-3: bsk) is mainly spoken in Gilgit-Baltistan of Pakistan. There are three major valleys, Hunza, Nager, and Yasin, in which Burushaski speakers are resident. The Hunza and Nager valleys belong to the Gilgit district, and they face opposite each other. The Yasin valley belongs to the Ghizer district and is separated from the other two valleys by many miles of rugged mountain terrain. See Figure 1.



Figure 1. Map of Burushaski

Around this language, there are several languages from genealogically different families. Roughly speaking, four languages have geographically immediate contact

with Burushaski: These are Shina and Khowar as Dardic (or Central Indic) languages, Domaki as a Central Indic language, and Wakhi as a Pamir language. Beyond them, Turkic, Tibetan, and the other Indo-Iranian languages, including the Kafir (Nuristani) ones, surround the area. Currently, Urdu and English are also flowing into Burushaski speakers' daily lives, and there was contact with Persian as the rulers' language in the old time.

## 1.2 Sociolinguistic side

The population of Burushaski speakers numbers about 100,000. Most Burushaski speakers are Muslim, especially of the Ismaili sect in Hunza. For this reason, the language shows much influence from Arabic also. The recent modernization has been changing their livelihood from agriculture and traditional industries to the tourist industry. Thus, Burushaski is rapidly losing its original vocabulary related to the old lifestyles.

## 2. Phonology

### 2.1 Phoneme inventory

#### 2.1.1 Consonants

There are 36 consonants in Burushaski; see Table 1 on the next page.

Normally, plosives and affricates constitute trio sets of a voiceless unaspirated, voiced, and aspirated phoneme. The alternations caused by morphophonological rules always take place within each set; see §2.4.2 also. Exceptionally, a fricative consonant /ɣ/ belongs to the set of /q/ and /qh/.

Besides [p<sup>h</sup>], /ph/ has the other allophone [f]; and /qh/ has the other allophone [x] in addition to [q<sup>h</sup>]. These [f] and [x], however, occur only in loan words.

/y [ɯ̣]/ is not retroflex but shows a retroflex feature in morphophonology (that is why here I use an underdot to indicate this sound as well as other retroflex consonants): cf. (9).

#### 2.1.2 Vowels

Burushaski has 5 vowels that each shows a distinction between long and short. The front vowels /i/ and /e/ form a group, and the back vowels /u/ and /o/ form another. They alternate among the types of personal prefixes within a group (cf. §4.1).

**Table 1. Consonants of Burushaski**

		Labial	Dental/ Alveolar	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
<b>Plosive</b>	<b>vl.</b>	/p/	/t/ [t]		/ʈ/ [ʈ]	/k/	/q/	
	<b>asp.</b>	/ph/ [p <sup>h</sup> ]	/th/ [t <sup>h</sup> ]		/ʈh/ [ʈ <sup>h</sup> ]	/kh/ [k <sup>h</sup> ]	/qh/ [q <sup>h</sup> ]	
	<b>vd.</b>	/b/	/d/ [d]		/ɖ/ [ɖ]	/g/ [g]		
<b>Affricate</b>	<b>vl.</b>		/c/ [ts]	/č/ [tɕ]	/ɟ/ [tʂ]			
	<b>asp.</b>		/ch/ [ts <sup>h</sup> ]	/čh/ [tɕ <sup>h</sup> ]	/ɟh/ [tʂ <sup>h</sup> ]			
	<b>vd.</b>			/j/ [dʒ]	/ɟ/ [dʒ]			
<b>Fricative</b>	<b>vl.</b>		/s/	/š/ [ɕ]	/ʂ/ [ʂ]			/h/
	<b>vd.</b>		/z/			/ɣ/ [ɣ]		
<b>Approx.</b>		/w/		/y/ [j]	/y/ [ɯ]			
<b>Nasal</b>		/m/	/n/			/ŋ/		
<b>Rhotic</b>			/r/ [r]					
<b>Lateral</b>			/l/					

The most frequent vowel is /a/, and /e/ without an accent is remarkably rare in Burushaski.

**Table 2. Vowels of Burushaski**

<b>High</b>	/i/	/u/	/ii/	/uu/
<b>Mid</b>	/e/	/o/	/ee/	/oo/
<b>Low</b>	/a/		/aa/	

## 2.2 Syllable structure

In Burushaski, the syllable structure is (C<sub>1</sub>(C<sub>2</sub>))V(C<sub>3</sub>(C<sub>4</sub>)), and a phonological word consists of one or more of these syllables. C indicates a consonant, and V is a short or long vowel. There are no diphthongs.

The consonant cluster C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub> is restricted to word-initial syllables, and the cluster

C<sub>3</sub>C<sub>4</sub> can only be found in word-final syllables.

C<sub>1</sub>: All consonants are verifiable in any middle position of a word, but ŋ and y do not appear in the initial syllable. C<sub>2</sub>: Only r is available when C<sub>1</sub> is any of p, b, ph, t, d, th, or g. However, words with the initial consonant cluster Cr (C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>) should consist of loan words and onomatopoeic words only. C<sub>3</sub>: All consonants expect approximants w and y. C<sub>4</sub>: 7 consonants: t, k, ʃ, ʂ, c, ɟ, and ʧ. All of them can be appear when C<sub>3</sub> is a sonorant. If C<sub>3</sub> is a fricative, then only k is available. The restriction of C<sub>3</sub>C<sub>4</sub> clusters in loan words is less strict than the one in indigenous words: e.g., *qulp* ‘lock’ < Ur. *qufl*.

Besides these subsystems, there is a rule of the word-final consonant: If it is one of the consonants in a plosive/affricate trio set, it must be a voiceless unaspirated correspondent, e.g., [pahá:tʰ] ‘mountain: ABS’ vs. [pahá:ɟar] ‘mountain: DAT’ (*paháad* ‘mountain’ < Ur. *paha:r*).

### 2.3 Prosody

Burushaski has a pitch accent system. An accented vowel is pronounced with a high pitch. I indicate such high-pitched vowels with the diacritic ´. This accent is distinctive: e.g., *íne* ‘he (DIST) :ERG/GEN’ vs. *iné* ‘that (H): ABS’; one word has one accent in principle (but some words have two accents synchronically).

The pitch of accented long vowels must be high or a gradual fall (indicated as *áa*). If vowels take the pitch pattern of a rising tone (indicated as *aá*), they should be considered as not long vowels but vowel sequences with two identical vowels in two syllables, for example, /a.á/.

### 2.4 Phonological rules

#### 2.4.1 Vowel changes

There seems no restriction on hiatus; but certain hiatuses change their own sounds almost regularly, so some hiatuses cannot be observed on the surface forms: e.g., /aí/ always becomes [eé] with a few exceptions, and /aú/ is realized as [oó].

We can observe additional vowel changes that occur morphophonologically.

#### 2.4.2 Morphophonology

Devoicing is a phenomenon that changes one or more of the following voiced consonants into voiceless. This phenomenon is regularly invoked by a negative

prefix *a-*, the causative prefix *s-*, the telic prefix *d-*, and the prefix *n-*. In this subsection, I use a double underline to mark the invoker of this morphophonological phenomenon and a frame for the altered part. See (1) and (2) below.

- |                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                        |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>(1)    /b/ → /p/</p> <p><i>apáa</i></p> <p><u>a</u>-[b]á-a-Ø</p> <p>NEG-COP-1SG-PRS</p> <p>‘I am not’</p> | <p>(2)    /g/ → /k/</p> <p><i>áaskarcumo</i></p> <p>a-[s]-[g]áarc-m-o</p> <p>1SG:III-CAUS-run-NPRS-3SG.HF</p> <p>‘she made me run’</p> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Unaspirating makes aspirated consonants alternate with their unaspirated correspondents. Unaspirating for a consonant is caused by verbal derivational prefixes on the condition that accent attraction moves the accent over to the vowel preceding the consonant. Examples are shown in (3) and (4).

- |                                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                  |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>(3)    /ch/ → /c/</p> <p><i>nícun</i></p> <p><u>n</u>-i-[ch]ú-n</p> <p>CP-3SG.HM:I-bring.away-CP</p> <p>‘bring him away and’</p> | <p>(4)    /qh/ → /q/</p> <p><i>góqučam</i></p> <p><u>gu</u>-[qh]uu-č-a-m</p> <p>2SG:II-be.lucky-IPFV-1SG-NPRS</p> <p>‘I will make you lucky’</p> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

The closing phenomenon changes one or more of the following fricatives into plosives, as shown in (5) and (6). This phenomenon is sometimes verified by a negative prefix *a-*, the causative prefix *s-*, the conjunctive participle prefix *n-*, and so on.

- |                                                                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                               |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>(5)    /ɣ/ → /q/</p> <p><i>óostaqami</i></p> <p>u-[s]-da-[ɣ]á-m-i</p> <p>3PL.X:III-CAUS-hide-NPRS-3SG.HM</p> <p>‘he sheltered them (animals)’</p> | <p>(6)    /h/ → /kh/</p> <p><i>akhénuman</i></p> <p><u>a</u>-[h]én-m-an</p> <p>NEG-know-NPRS-1PL</p> <p>‘we did not know’</p> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

In contrast to closing, the opening phenomenon serves to make a following stop consonant become an approximant or drop entirely, as in (7) and (8); however, there

may not be a strict rule of pairs between a stop and an approximant/elimination, or it may be conditioned by the phonetic environment.

- |                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                            |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>(7) /b/ → /w/</p> <p><i>duwáaltimi</i></p> <p><u>d</u>-<u>b</u>áalt-m-i</p> <p>TEL-wash-NPRS-3SG.Y</p> <p>‘it was washed’</p> | <p>(8) /g/ → /y/</p> <p><i>uyánam</i></p> <p><u>u</u>-<u>g</u>án-a-m</p> <p>3PL.X:I-take-1SG-NPRS</p> <p>‘I took them’</p> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

/č/ invokes several sound changes with an immediately preceding consonant or consonants. Such sound changes are mainly seen either with the imperfective suffix for verbs -č or with a plural suffix for nominals, -čo or -čuko. In examples (9) and (10), I indicate the parts in question with a frame, and the results with a waved underline.

- |                                                                                                                  |                                                           |                                                 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| <p>(9) Sound changes with /č/</p> <p>/n/ + /č/ → /ɲ/ :cf. (10)</p> <p>/t/ + /č/ → /ʃ/</p> <p>/y/ + /č/ → /ç/</p> | <p>/l/ + /č/ → /lj/ : cf. (11)</p> <p>/s/ + /č/ → /ʃ/</p> | <p>/c/ + /č/ → /š/</p> <p>/rk/ + /č/ → /rš/</p> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
- 
- |                                                                                                      |                                                                                         |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>(10) <i>séyam</i></p> <p>sé<u>n</u>-<u>č</u>-a-m</p> <p>say-IPFV-1SG-NPRS</p> <p>‘I will say’</p> | <p>(11) <i>taljó</i></p> <p>tal<u>l</u>-<u>č</u>o</p> <p>pigeon-PL</p> <p>‘pigeons’</p> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

/y/ may also change an immediately preceding consonant (see (12)). This phenomenon can be observed only in the case of the stem derivation for the plurality of a subject in an intransitive clause or an object in a transitive clause.

- |                                                                                  |                                               |                        |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| <p>(12) Sound changes with /y/</p> <p>/y/ + /y/ → /y/</p> <p>/t/ + /y/ → /č/</p> | <p>/s/ + /y/ → /š/</p> <p>/t/ + /y/ → /č/</p> | <p>/c/ + /y/ → /č/</p> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------|

### 3. Descriptive preliminaries

#### 3.1 Word classes

There are 8 word classes in Burushaski: pronouns, nouns, adjectives, numerals, copula, verbs, conjunctions, and interjections.

##### 3.1.1 Nominals

A nominal in Burushaski is a word able to function as a head of a nominal phrase. Nominals can take case markers (§4.2). They consist of nouns and pronouns, and nouns may be either free or bound. Bound nouns are either inalienable nouns (kinship terms, body parts, emotions, etc.) or positional nouns, and they always need a personal prefix to indicate the possessor or reference point.

##### 3.1.2 Adjectives and numerals

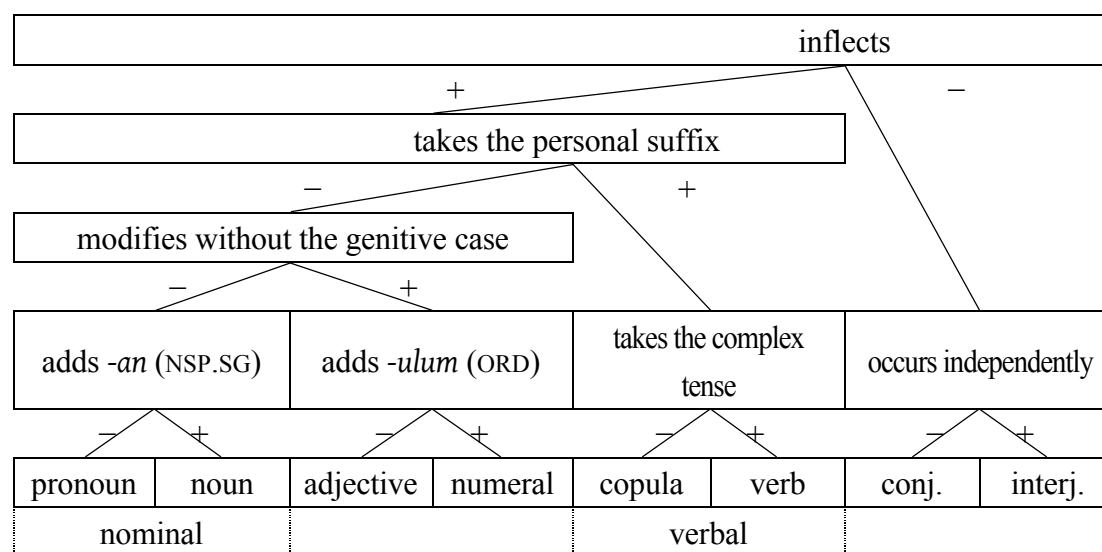
An adjective can modify a noun with its bare form as well as a numeral. Some adjectives take one of the plural suffixes when they modify a noun referring to plural entities. Numerals of small numbers, from 1 to 10, have more than a form corresponding to the nominal class to which the numeral refers. In addition, there are several bound nominal morphemes able to attach only to numerals to create quantified nouns: e.g., *-kuc* ‘day’ in *iskí-kuc* ‘three days’ and *tóorimi-kuc* ‘ten days.’

##### 3.1.3 Verbal

Verbals consist of verbs and copulas. Verbs in Burushaski can be a predicate of a clause independently, while a nominal, adjective, and numeral need a copula to predicate. Copulas are not the same as verbs in the morphology because they take fewer functional categories than verbs. There are two copular roots in Hunza Burushaski: *bá-* is for H-class and *b-* is for X- and Y-classes.

##### 3.1.4 Other classes

In addition to the classes already described, Burushaski has conjunctions and interjections; they cannot be attached to by any morpheme to form inflected words anew. Interjections are used independently, although conjunctions are used inside a clause or between clauses. Figure 2 summarizes the Burushaski word classes.



**Figure 2. Word classes and the criteria of word classes in Burushaski**

### 3.2 Nominal classes

There are four nominal classes in Burushaski. The classes are chiefly defined semantically: HM-class is for human male entities, HF-class for human females, X-class for concrete things, and Y-class for abstract things. These classes function as a property for agreement. Nominal classes will be described in greater detail in §7.5.

## 4. Morphology

### 4.1 Overview (affixation, compounding, reduplication)

Burushaski uses the following types of word formation: prefixation, suffixation, compounding, and reduplication, including echo-formation. Affixation (both prefixation and suffixation) is found in nominal and verbal morphology. Compounding is mainly used to enlarge nominal vocabulary and sometimes to create new verb stems. Reduplication is utilized in echo-formation and onomatopoeic word formation (see §4.4).

### 4.2 Nominal morphology

Nouns show the typical declension in Burushaski. Therefore, I introduce the nominal morphology with an explanation of the morphology of the noun. See the noun template in Figure 3 on the next page.



(-1)	0	(+1)	(+2)	(+3)	(+4)	+5
PERS	BASE	PL	NUMBER	OBL	POSITIONAL CASE	CASE

**Figure 3: Template for nouns**

In this figure, the bordered part represents the noun stem. The accent of nouns always realizes inside the stems. I use parentheses to indicate optional slots; slots not in parentheses are obligatory, [0: base] and [+5: case].

This templatic formation realizes as follows in (13):

- (13) *úmimuar*  
u-                      mí      -mu    -ar  
3PL.H:I-              mother -OBL   -DAT  
[-1]                    [0]      [+3]    [+5]  
‘for their mother’
- (14) *hukáikcum*  
huk    -ai      -ik      -c      -um  
dog    -PL      -PL      -ADE   -ABL  
[0]      [+1]    [+2]    [+4]    [+5]  
‘from the dogs’

[-1: person] slot is observed only on inalienable or positional nouns. There are three types of personal prefix sets able to appear in this slot; see Table 3.

**Table 3: Personal prefix types**

		Type-I (@-/@')		Type-II (@')		Type-III (@')	
		SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
1		a-	mi-	á-	mé-	áa-	mée-
2		gu-	ma-	gó-	má-	góo-	máa-
3	HM	i-	u-	é-	ó-	ée-	óo-
	HF	mu-		mó-		móo-	
	X	i-	u-	é-	ó-	ée-	óo-
	Y	i-	i-	é-	é-	ée-	ée-

In this way, speakers use three types of personal prefixes for nominals, but the choice of types is strictly fixed for each stem, and the functions of each type are identical. When the personal prefixes are used with an inalienable noun, the function is either marking the possessor of the host possessed noun or setting the spatial or temporal reference point of the host positional noun, illustrated in (15):

- (15) @-i ‘daughter’  
 a. á-i ‘my daughter’  
 1SG:II-daughter  
 b. gó-i ‘your daughter’  
 2SG:II-daughter
- (16) @-lji ‘behind, after’  
 a. á-lji ‘after me, behind me’  
 1SG:I-behind  
 b. gú-lji ‘after you, behind you’  
 2SG:I-behind

[+1: plural] and [+2: number] are the slots for marking the number of the noun referent. Normally, a plural suffix is employed in [+1] to indicate the plural referents. Occasionally, two plural suffixes appear, in both [+1] and [+2], to emphasize the plurality or extend the meaning of nouns. There are many plural suffixes in Burushaski as well as a strict rule of pairing the suffixes and nouns. Also, the [+2] slot may have a non-specific singular suffix *-an*. The counterpart of the singular suffix *-an* is a non-specific plural suffix *-ik* (see (17) and (18)). However, in contemporary speech, *-ik* is not employed very often.

- (17) *sísan*  
 sís-an  
 people-NSP.SG  
 ‘a person’
- (18) *sísik*  
 sís-ik  
 people-NSP.PL  
 ‘people’

[+3: oblique case] is the slot for the oblique case markers, i.e., *-mu* for the third person HF- and (frequently) Z-class, and *-e* for the rest, which sometimes appear between the preceding nominal base and certain case markers.

[+4: positional case] always functions with any directional case marker in [+5]. See Figure 4 for the candidates of positional and directional case and Table 4 for the details of the combinations.

[+4]	form	label	position		[+5]	form	label	direction
	-al-/-ul-	locative	‘at’			-e	essive	no direction
	-aṭ-	instrumental	‘around, by’	×		-ar	dative	‘towards, for’
	-c-	adessive	‘on’			-um	ablative	‘away, from’
	-či-	inessive	‘in’					

**Figure 4: Complex case marking system for locationals in Burushaski**

**Table 4: Details of the position-direction combinations**

	-e		-ar		-um	
-al-	-ale	locative	-alar	lative ‘to, into’	-alum	elative
/-ul-	/-ulo	‘at, in’	/(-ar úlo)		/-ulum	‘from, out from’
-aṭ-	-aṭe	adhesive ‘around’	-aṭar	apudlative ‘for’	-aṭum	delative ‘from the side of’
-c-	-ce	adessive ‘on’	-car	allative ‘onto’	-cum	ablative ‘from’
-či-	-či	inessive ‘in’	-čar	illative ‘into’	-čim	exlative ‘out from’

In addition to the three directional case markers, [+5] can have some of the main case markers, that is, the absolutive  $\emptyset$ , ergative  $-e$ , and genitive  $-e$ . The difference between the ergative and genitive is that the former is always employed solely and the latter requires oblique marking obviously when the referent is the third person HF- or Z-class: e.g., *bilás-e* ‘witch: ERG’, *bilás-m-o* [bilás-mu-e] ‘witch: GEN.’

Pronouns in Burushaski also decline like nouns, but their template is simpler than the one for nouns because they do not have the slot of personal prefix, plural, and number.

### 4.3 Verbal morphology

The Burushaski word classes that conjugate are the verb and copula. They conjugate in different ways, so I present their templates separately.

#### 4.3.1 Morphology of verbs

At first, I explain the template for verbs in Figure 5. In Figure 5 (also Figure 6), the bordered part indicates the stem of each verb or copula.

(-4)	(-3)	(-2)	(-1)	0	(+1)	(+2)	(+3)	+4	(+5)
NEG	TEL	PERS	CAUS	ROOT	PL	ASP	PERS	MOD/COP	PERS/COND

**Figure 5: Template for verbs**

The following forms are actual instances with the representation of slotting:

(19) *atésmanuma*

a-	d-	i-	s-	man	-m	-a
3PL.H-	TEL-	3SG.X:II-	CAUS-	become	-NPRS	-2SG
[-4]	[-3]	[-2]	[-1]	[0]	[+4]	[+5]
'you did not make it'						

(20) *giráčācan*

giráč	-ya	-č	-an	-m
dance	-PL	-IPFV	-1PL	-NPRS
[0]	[+1]	[+2]	[+3]	[+4]
'we will dance'				

[-4: negative] slot can be filled by the negative marker *a-/oó-*, which distributes supplementarily and is fixed one-to-one for each verb.

[-3: telic] is the slot for two candidates, the telic derivational morpheme *d-* and the morpheme *n-*, which is observed only in converbs proper: cf. §8.3. The surface functions of *d-* are extremely complicated: see also §7.8.

[-2: personal prefix] for verbs employs the same inventory as the one for nominals: cf. §4.1. The personal prefix on verbs shows an agreement with an undergoer argument in the clause; see §6 for details.

[-1: causative] slot has only one candidate, that is, the causative prefix *s-*.

[+1: plural] is rarely filled by the plural morpheme *-ya*, which is a derivational suffix able to indicate the plurality of the referent of an absolutive argument in a clause. The range of usage of this suffix is so narrow that only a handful of verbal roots can cooperate with it now.

[+2: aspect] slot has only one candidate morpheme, imperfective *-č*.

[+3 / +5: personal suffix] take the personal suffix to indicate the subject of the verbal predicates; see also §6 for details. [+5] takes also the personal suffix of all person-number for optative mood, the counterfactual conditional suffix *-ce*, and the reminding suffix *-á*.

[+4: mood suffix / auxiliary copula] slot is somewhat omnivorous. This slot can take a number of mood suffixes, the auxiliary copula, the conjunctive participle suffix, and external derivational suffixes. The auxiliary copula is used for the complex temporality (cf. §7.10) and a clause-chaining non-finite form (cf. §8.3).

**Table 5: Subject suffixes for verbs**

		SG	PL
1		-a [+3]	-an [+3/+5]
2		-a [+5]	-an [+5]
3	HM	-i [+5]	-an [+5]
	HF	-o [+5]	
	X	-i [+5]	-ie(n) [+5]
	Y	-i [+5]	-i [+5]

#### 4.3.2 Morphology of the copula

Next, I introduce the morphology of the copula here. To begin, see the template for the copula in Figure 6 below.

(-1)	0	+1	(+2)	(+3)	+4	(+5)
NEG	ROOT	PERS	ASP	PERS	MOD	PERS/COND

**Figure 6: Template for the copula**

[-1: negative] is quite similar to the slot for the verbs already explained above. The negative prefix for copula has no allomorph; it always takes the form *a-*.

[0: root] of the copula has two allomorphs in the Hunza dialect: *bá-* for the first and second person, and the third person H-class; *b-* for the third person X- and Y-classes.

[+1: personal suffix] slot is for the personal subject suffix of all person-numbers. Unlike the personal suffix for verbs, the one for the copula is employed to make the stem of each person-number for all the finite and non-finite forms.

[+2: aspect] can be filled by the imperfective suffix *-č*, only for the concessive construction, as in (21) below, and the conditional forms.

(21)	<i>waqt</i>	<i>bilíčar</i>	<i>bilá</i>	<i>júase</i>
	<i>wáqt-Ø</i>	<i>b'ila-č-ar</i>	<i>b'ila-Ø</i>	<i>jú-as-e</i>
	time-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-IPFV-DAT	COP-3SG.Y-PRS	come-INF-GEN

<i>rái</i>	<i>apí.</i>
<i>rái-Ø</i>	<i>a-b'ila-Ø</i>
desire-ABS	NEG-COP-3SG.Y-PRS

‘(I) do have time but do not want to come.’

[+3: personal suffix] is only for the first person. In this slot appears the first person singular suffix *-a* again with the non-present mood.

[+4: mood suffix] slot takes mood suffixes and derivational suffixes.

[+5: personal / conditional suffix] is only for the optative personal suffix and conditional ending suffix *-ce*. Unlike the one occurring with verbs, it has no implicit meaning of counterfactuality.

#### 4.4 Reduplication

Burushaski has two types of reduplication. One is onomatopoeic construction (called “expressive construction” in Indian linguistics), and the other is echo-formation, which modifies words as nouns and adjectives, phrases, and even clauses, with some semantic additions.

Onomatopoeic construction creates onomatopoeia by means of complete or partial reduplication. Some onomatopoeics consist of two or more phonological words, and some are built by words with an accent. The following are examples of onomatopoeics: *haṣhás @'t-* ‘to cut with a dull blade,’ *širišaráŋ* ‘clink-clank (from glass or metal)’ (cf. *šaráŋ* ‘clank’), and *maramaráq* ‘scrub-a-dub, <manner of eating greedily>’ (cf. *maráaq* ‘<manner of lying idly>’).

Echo-formation (or fixed segment reduplication, by Yip 1998 and Khan 2006 among others) is reduplication with a small change or adding some element on the initial part of the base word to create a slight difference in shade of meaning, e.g., generality, ambiguity as indicated by ‘and/or something like,’ emphasis, informality, and so on. There is a strong tendency on fixed segments for changes in reduplication: If the base word starts with a bilabial consonant, then the fixed segment should be /š/; in all other cases, the fixed segment ought to be /m/. (In (22) to (24), (24) is an exception.)

- (22) Echo-formation for a noun word  
*bépay šépay* < *bépay*  
 ‘a yak or something like [it]’ ‘yak’
- (23) Echo-formation for an adjective word  
*daltás maltás* < *daltás*  
 ‘very beautiful’ ‘beautiful’
- (24) Echo-formation for a clause  
*ámular níčáa? gómular níčáa?* < *ámular níčáa?*  
 ‘Where are you going? (speaking informally)’ ‘Where are you going?’

## 5. Syntactic structure

### 5.1 Basic clause structure and word order

The basic word order of Burushaski is SOV, but the order is not rigid. Example (25) shows the basic constituent order:

- (25) *dáa uskó jótišo urkáie<sub>s</sub> úimo*  
*dáa uskó jót-išo urk'-ai-e u-í-mu-e*  
 and three:X small-PL wolf-PL-ERG 3PL.X:I-self-OBL-GEN  
*asqúriṇaṭe háan<sub>o</sub>*  
*asqúr-iṇ-aṭ-e há-an-Ø*  
 flower-PL-INS-ESS house-NSP.SG-ABS  
désmanién<sub>v.</sub>  
*d-i-s-man+b'-ien-Ø*  
 TEL-3SG.Y:II-CAUS-become+COP-3PL.X-PRS  
 ‘So the three little wolves built themselves a house of flowers.’ (*uskó jótišo urkái ke uyúm yunikiš qhúuq*: #40)

### 5.2 The noun phrase

The basic order of noun phrases is as follows in (26) and illustrated in (27):

- (26) The noun phrase  
 demonstrative adjective – numeral – adjective – head noun

- (27)
- |               |             |               |              |
|---------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| <i>gucé</i>   | <i>uskó</i> | <i>jóṭišo</i> | <i>urkái</i> |
| gucé          | uskó        | jóṭ-išo       | urk'-ai      |
| these:X       | three:X     | small-PL      | wolf-PL      |
| DEMONSTRATIVE | NUMERAL     | ADJECTIVE     | HEAD NOUN    |
- ‘these three little wolves’

In the possessive structure, the possessor nominals precede the possessed nouns. We can say that Burushaski shows the tendency of both dependent-marking and double-marking in noun phrases. The former is observed in alienable possession, and the latter is in inalienable possession, while possessor nouns and pronouns are sometimes omitted. (28) shows the structure of possessive constructions.

(28) Possessive structure

- a. *híre*                      *ha*                      (Dependent-Marking)  
       *hír-e*                      *há*  
       man-GEN                house  
       ‘the house of the man’
- b. *híre*                      *iríñ*                      (Double-Marking)  
       *hír-e*                      *í-riñ*  
       man-GEN                3SG.HM:1-hand  
       ‘the hand of the man’
- c.        \**hír*                      *iríñ*

### 5.3 The predicate phrase

Predicate phrases in Burushaski are simple. Their structure is as follows in (29):

(29) The predicate phrase

object N – adverbial N/adjective – pseudo-object N – main verb – auxiliary verb

I use the term “pseudo-object nouns” for the nouns that are compounded with the verbs to make new verbal stems: e.g., *khéel* ‘sport, game’ + @-t- ‘to do’ > *khéel* @-t- ‘to play (vt.)’; see (30) on the next page also.



- (30) *joókheel káa khéel étis méemanuman*  
*joókheel-Ø káa khéel+ i-t'-s mĩ-man'-m-an*  
 hopscotch-ABS together game+ 3SG.Y:II-do-OPT 1PL:III-become-NPRS-1PL  
 OBJECT NOUN ADV. NOUN P-OBJ. MAIN VERB AUXILIARY VERB  
 ‘we could play hopscotch together’

Auxiliary verbs such as @*man*- ‘to be able’ or *duún*- ‘to begin’ require the main verbs in either the infinitive or optative non-finite form: cf. §7.10.

## 6. Grammatical relations

Burushaski shows a clear split among its case-marking pattern and person-indexing patterns. They arrange the subject and the object(s) overtly.

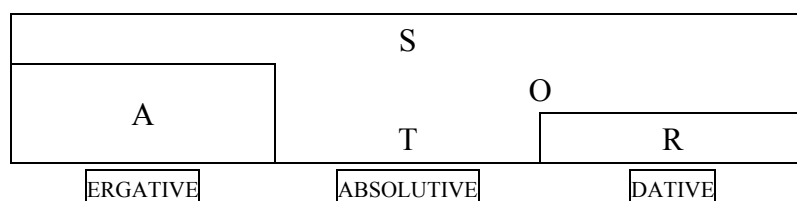


Figure 7. Flagging by the case markers

The marking pattern by the case markers shows the ergative type alignment; see Figure 7. The absolutive case marker -Ø indicates the subject of intransitive clauses, the patient of monotransitive clauses, and the theme of ditransitive clauses. The ergative case marker -*e* marks the agent of mono- and di-transitive clauses, and the dative case marker -*ar* is used for the recipient of ditransitive clauses.

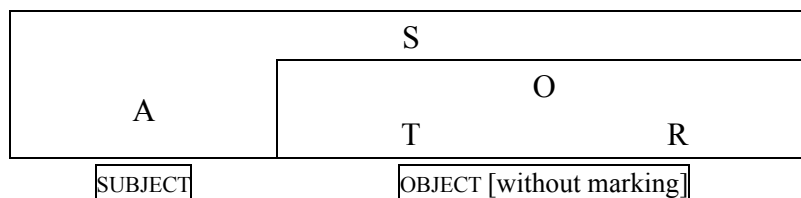
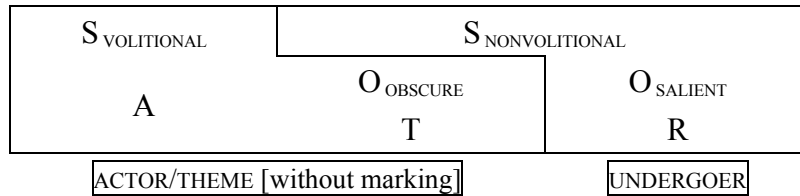


Figure 8. Indexing by the personal suffix

The indexing by the personal suffix on verbs is useful in showing which argument is the subject of clauses, because the personal suffix agrees with the subject argument irrespective of transitivity; see Figure 8. That is, if an (obligatory)

argument has agreement on the personal suffix on the verb as the head of a clause, it must be the only subject of the clause; and if not, then the argument cannot be the subject but is rather any kind of object of the clause.



**Figure 9. Indexing by the personal prefix**

The indexing by the personal prefix on verbs shows the undergoer agreement system; see Figure 9. This marking distinguishes even the subject argument of intransitive clauses between volitional and nonvolitional. The personal prefix on verbs is employed for nonvolitional intransitive, many monotransitive, and all ditransitive predicates. It agrees with the nonvolitional subject argument in intransitive clauses, the salient object in monotransitive clauses, and the recipient (indirect object) in ditransitive clauses. The obscure object in monotransitive clauses, surely, and all the theme (direct object) arguments in ditransitive clauses are not agreed with by the prefix. So there may be some hierarchy of the objecthood, or patienthood, of arguments, and the employment of the personal suffix is quite sensitive to the hierarchy.

## 7. Functional categories

### 7.1 Interrogatives

There are two types of interrogative sentences in Burushaski. One is the polar interrogative indicated by the clause-final clitic =a; the other is the content interrogative expressed by interrogative words in sentences having the same syntactic order as declarative ones.

### 7.2 Imperatives

Imperative sentences are semantically and morphologically limited to the second person subject. The imperative suffix for singular is -i, and the one for plural is -in.

### 7.3 Equation, classification, location, and possession

Equation, classification, location, and possession are expressed by the same construction as copular sentences with a rather strict word order, such as X – Y – copula. See examples (31) to (35).

(31) Equation

<i>gusé</i>	<i>jáa</i>	<i>huk</i>	<i>bi.</i>
<i>gusé-Ø</i>	<i>jé-e</i>	<i>huk'-Ø</i>	<i>b'-i-Ø</i>
this:X-ABS	I-GEN	dog-ABS	COP-3SG.X-PRS

‘This is my dog.’

(32) Classification

<i>músa</i>	<i>maalík</i>	<i>bái.</i>
<i>músa-Ø</i>	<i>maalík-Ø</i>	<i>bá-i-Ø</i>
Musa-ABS	owner-ABS	COP-3SG.HM-PRS

‘Musa is an owner.’

(33) Location

<i>iné</i>	<i>gus</i>	<i>háa</i>	<i>téšate</i>	<i>bom.</i>
<i>iné</i>	<i>gus'-Ø</i>	<i>há-e</i>	<i>teš'-at-e</i>	<i>bá-o-m</i>
that:H	woman-ABS	house-GEN	roof-INS-ESS	COP-3SG.HF-NPRS

‘That woman was on the roof of the house.’

(34) Possession with the dative possessor

<i>jáar</i>	<i>paisáa</i>	<i>apí.</i>
<i>jé-ar</i>	<i>paisáa-Ø</i>	<i>a-b'-ila-Ø</i>
I-DAT	money-ABS	NEG-COP-3SG.Y-PRS

‘I have no money. (lit., No money for me)’

(35) Possession with a spatial expression

<i>jáa</i>	<i>ápaci</i>	<i>bútan</i>	<i>chil</i>	<i>bilá.</i>
<i>jé-e</i>	<i>a-pa-či-e</i>	<i>bút-an</i>	<i>chil'-Ø</i>	<i>b'-ila-Ø</i>
I-GEN	1SG.II-side-INE-ESS	much-NSP.SG	water-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS

‘I have plenty of water (lit. Plenty of water is in my side).’

#### 7.4 Case

Burushaski nominals have a variety of cases: absolutive, ergative, genitive, and many locative cases. They are indicated by the case suffixes on the nominal: see §4.2.

#### 7.5 Noun class

Nominals in Burushaski show four agreement classes (HM, HF, X, and Y) similar to genders; every nominal belongs to one of the classes. These classes pragmatically function as a feature for agreement. Roughly speaking, the extension of HM-class is human male, HF is human female, X is concrete objects including animals and fruits, and Y is abstract objects including liquids, trees, and notions. Not every noun can be classified by its phonological forms, but the plural suffixes tend to show the class of the host noun.

In this description, in addition to these four classes, I employ one more pseudo-class named Z-class. This is a class only relating to numerals. Numerals have Z-forms either for simple (non-referential) counting or modifying temporal nouns.

#### 7.6 Person

There are three persons distinguished in Burushaski: first, second, and third. The distinction of nominal classes is observed only in the third person. Personal difference is reflected in the prefix on nouns, the patient prefix on verbs, and the subject suffix on verbals.

#### 7.7 Number

Burushaski has two numbers for agreement: singular and plural. Some nouns can take two plural suffixes simultaneously to mean extended plurality, but the double plural forms function the same as the single plural forms in agreement.

#### 7.8 Valency-changing

There is no regular morphosyntactic construction for voice changing in Burushaski. However, some morphological or morphosyntactic voice phenomena can be observed to make up for it. Most of them are simply given by verbal morphology.

The telic prefix *d-* alters certain verb stems into middle-like voice. Basically, *d-* adds a result-oriented meaning to verb roots; when a certain transitive verb root



Table 6 presents a rough description of the relation between the type of personal prefix and the transitivity of verb stems. In the table, the blank cells indicate that the combinations are too short to judge their transitivity.

### 7.9 Negation

Negation for propositions is marked by the negative prefix *a-/oó-* on the verb or the main copula. Thus, the auxiliary copula in the verbal template never takes the negative prefix.

### 7.10 Tense, aspect, mood

Burushaski has no tense markers. Its temporality is organized by the combinations of aspect (perfective vs. imperfective) and mood (present vs. non-present) markers, and the auxiliary copula, as shown in Table 7.

**Table 7: Temporality in Burushaski organized by three axes**

[+4] [+2]		
	none <PFV>	-č <IPFV>
none <PRS>	Prospective	Future <sup>‡</sup>
-m <NPRS>	Simple Past	
COP	Present Perfect	Present
COP-m	Past Perfect	Past Imperfect

<sup>‡</sup> The formation of Future has variations on both dialects and agreements in person/number/class.

e.g.,	Prospective:	<i>éto</i>	‘she will be / is / was about to do it’,
	Simple Past:	<i>étumo</i>	‘she did it’
	Present Perfect:	<i>étubó</i>	‘she has done it’
	Past Perfect:	<i>étubóm</i>	‘she had done it’
	Future:	<i>éčo / éčumo</i>	‘she will do it’
	Present:	<i>éčubó</i>	‘she does / is doing it’
	Past Imperfect:	<i>éčubóm</i>	‘she was doing it’

The present mood is used for descriptions of the events present that are actually observed by the speaker’s cognition in the present. So this mood marker functions correspondingly with what is called the present tense marker in other languages.

However, it is also used for prospective events, which have not happened yet in the present, because the inceptions of the events can be sensed now.

The pair to the present mood is, of course, the non-present mood (or the absent mood). This mood functions nearly as a tense for both past and future predicates. If an event is present but has gone now, the event is absent; and if an event will be certainly present but has not been yet now, the event is absent, too. For these events, the non-present mood marker must be used. Unlike irrealis mood in other languages, the non-present mood in Burushaski is also used for past events that the speaker considers to have happened in reality.

In addition, there are also 3 moods: imperative, optative, and conditional.

The imperative mood is used for commands and is restricted in the second person agent both morphologically and semantically.

The optative mood in finite forms is employed to express wishes or expectations, and in non-finite forms, it can be observed in the constructions of several expressions requiring a verbal complement; for example, ability expressions with the verb @-man- as in (37), or time expressions with the adverbial noun qháas ‘until, up to,’ as in (38), are harmonious with optative non-finites; see also §5.3.

- (37) 

étis		<i>áamayabáa.</i>
i-t'-s		a-man'-č-a+bá-a-Ø
	3SG.Y:II-do-OPT	1SG:III-become-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS
	‘I can <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">do it</span> .’	

- (38) 

eérš		<i>qháa(s)</i>
a-ir'-s		qháas
	1SG:I-die-OPT	until
	‘until <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">I die</span> ’	

The conditional mood is used only for conditional forms in the subjunctive clause. However, it is not necessarily the conditional mood that is employed for conditionals; some conditional forms include the conditional mood suffix, but others do not.

All the verbal forms in Burushaski are distinguished into two groups by aspect: perfective or imperfective.

### 7.11 Information structure

Burushaski speakers usually set a phrase to topicalize forward. For example, the latter part of sentence (39) ('with her') can be topicalized by the fronting process as in (40).

- (39) *jáa ínmo káa čayabár étam.*  
*jé-e ín-mu-e káa čayabár-Ø i-t'-a-m*  
 I-ERG s/he:DIST-OBL-GEN together chat-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-1SG-NPRS  
 'I talked with her.'

- (40) *ínmo káa jáa čayabár étam.*  
*ín-mu-e káa jé-e čayabár-Ø i-t'-a-m*  
 s/he:DIST-OBL-GEN together I-ERG chat-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-1SG-NPRS  
 'I talked with her (lit. With her I talked).'

The topic marker *to*, loaned from Urdu, can be attached immediately after the clause-initial phrase to indicate clarification or emphasis.

## 8. Clause combining

### 8.1 Overview of clause combining

Clause combining serves two overt means in Burushaski, coordination and subordination. There are three means of clause combining: conjunctives, converbs, and relativizers.

### 8.2 Coordination

Coordination with conjunctives is served by the following: *ke* 'and; then,' *dáa* 'and then,' *óor* 'and' [< Ur. *o:r* 'and'] (see (41)), and *leekín* 'but' [< Ur. *le:kin* 'but'].

- (41) *káman guncíŋcum, buá halkíimi*  
*kám-an gunc'-iŋ-c-um buá-Ø halk'-m-i*  
 little-NSP.SG day-PL-ADE-ABL cow-ABS bear-NPRS-3SG.X



- |                                                                   |                   |                                     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">óor</span> | <i>isk</i>        | <i>désmanimi.</i>                   |
| <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">óor</span> | <i>i-sk'-Ø</i>    | <i>d-i'-s-man'-m-i</i>              |
| <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">and</span> | 3SG.X:I-young-ABS | TEL-3SG.X:II-CAUS-become-NPRS-3SG.X |
- ‘Some days later, the cow gave birth and a calf was born to it.’ (Shon Gukur: #12)

Frequently, clause combining is accomplished by the juxtaposition of two or more clauses simply, as in (42).

- |      |                     |                            |                    |
|------|---------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|
| (42) | <i>biṭáyue</i>      | <i>yeécuman,</i>           | <i>húke mamúe</i>  |
|      | <i>biṭán-čo-e</i>   | <i>i-ic'-m-an</i>          | <i>húke+mamó-e</i> |
|      | shaman-PL-ERG       | 3SG.Y:I-see-NPRS-3PL.H     | Huke.Mamo-ERG      |
|      | <i>šon gukúrar</i>  | <i>ésimi:</i>              |                    |
|      | <i>šón+gukúr-ar</i> | <i>i'-s'-m-i</i>           |                    |
|      | Shon.Gukur-DAT      | 3SG.HM:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM |                    |
- ‘The shamans saw it, and Huke Mamo said to Shon Gukur.’ (Shon Gukur: #5)

### 8.3 Subordination

#### 8.3.1 Adverbial clauses

These conjunctives are usually employed to create subordination: *ágar* ‘if’ [< Ur. *agar* ‘if’] and *béšal* ‘when’ (see (43)) in the clause-initial position and *kúli* ‘though’ (see (44)) in the clause-final position. They indicate subordinating adverbial clauses, which cannot occur independently from any main clause.

- |      |                                                                     |             |             |                                     |
|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|
| (43) | <i>eḍ</i>                                                           | <i>buṭ</i>  | <i>qhoš</i> | <i>imáibái</i>                      |
|      | <i>éḍ-Ø</i>                                                         | <i>búṭ</i>  | <i>qhóš</i> | <i>i-man'-č+bá-i-Ø</i>              |
|      | Ed-ABS                                                              | much        | happy       | 3SG.HM:I-become-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-PRS |
|      | <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">béšal</span> | <i>íne</i>  | <i>icé</i>  | <i>šurómuc</i>                      |
|      | <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">béšal</span> | <i>ín-e</i> | <i>icé</i>  | <i>šuró-muc-Ø</i>                   |
|      | <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">when</span>  | he:DIST-ERG | those:X     | pie-PL-ABS                          |

*dósmaibái* *ke.*  
 d-u's-man'-č+bá-i-Ø *ké*  
 TEL-3PL.X:II-CAUS-become-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-PRS CONJN  
 'Ed is happy when he is baking pies.' (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #11)

- (44) *éḍe* *γoyáŋcum* *darúm* *qháa* *íi* *bluuberíe*  
*éḍ-e* *γoyáŋ-c-um* *dar'-um* *qháaʃ* *íi* *bluuberí-e*  
 Ed-GEN hair-ADE-ABL still-ADJVLZ until just blueberry-GEN  
*nas* *júçilúm,* *altó* *dam*  
*nás-Ø* *jú-č+b'-ila-m* *altó* *dám*  
 smell-ABS come-IPFV+COP-3SG.Y-NPRS two:Y moment  
*yátis* *yáaltóm* kúli  
*i-yaʃis-Ø* *i-báalt+bá-i-m* kúli  
 3SG.HM:I-head-ABS 3SG.X:I-wash+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS though  
 'Ed's hair still smelled like blueberry though he had taken two showers.'  
 (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #21)

Roughly speaking, there are two kinds of the non-finite verbal forms used for subordination in Burushaski: One is a group of converbs proper, called conjunctive participles, always formed in n-V(-n) (the converb suffix *-n* can be reduplicated up to four times to regulate the locutional rhythm in discourse); see (45). The other is a group of the forms that consist of either a participle or infinitive and case marking; see (46)–(48).

- (45) Converb proper / Conjunctive participle: Same-subject Sequential

*qhúuqe* *ganʃí* néyarín *sénimi ...*  
*qhúuq-e* *ganʃí-Ø* *n-i-γar'-n* *sén-m-i*  
 pig-ERG bell-ABS CP-3SG.X:II-play-CP say-NPRS-3SG.X  
 'The pig rang a doorbell and (the pig) said ...' (*uskó jóʃišo urkáí ke uyúm yuníkış qhúuq*: #20)

(46) Perfective participle + Dative case: Different-subject Sequential

*harált*                      *diáarcumar*                      *čayórum*                      *maími.*  
*harált-Ø*                      *d-gáarc-um-ar*                      *čayór-um*                      *man'-č-m-i*  
 rain-ABS                      TEL-run-ADJVLZ-DAT                      cold-ADJVLZ  
 become-IPFV-NPRS-3SG.Y  
 'After it rains, it will be cold.'

(47) Imperfective participle + Adhesive case: Same-subject Simultaneous

*in*                      *hérčumaṭe*                      *ními.*  
*ín-Ø*                      *hér-č-um-aṭ-e*                      *ní-m-i*  
*s/he:DIST-ABS*                      *cry-IPFV-ADJVLZ-INS-ESS*                      *go-NPRS-3SG.HM*  
 'He went crying.'

(48) Infinitive + Locative case: Free-subj. (Different-subj. here) Simultaneous

*in*                      *éyanasulo*                      *zilzilá.*  
*ín-Ø*                      *i-gán-as-ul-e*                      *zilzilá-Ø*  
*s/he:DIST-ABS*                      *3SG.HM:II-sleep-INF-LOC-ESS*                      *earthquake-ABS*  
*dími.*  
*díi-m-i*  
*come:PFV:3SG.Y-NPRS-3SG.Y*  
 'When he was sleeping, the earthquake came.'

## 8.3.2 Relative clauses

The relative clause consists of a predicative clause, either verbal or copular, one of the relativizers, which are identical to interrogatives *bésan* / *bésik* 'what (SG.PL / PL),' *ménan* / *ménik* 'who (SG.PL / PL),' *ámin* / *ámins* / *ámit* 'which (H / X / Y),' *ámitali* 'via which way,' *béšal* 'when,' *bes* 'why,' *am* 'where,' *bélaṭe* 'how,' *béerum(an)* ~ *beúrum(an)* 'how much,' and so on, and sometimes also the general conjunctive *ke*. The host noun that receives the modification of relative clauses almost always requires a distal demonstrative word corresponding to the relativizer in the relative clause. Hence, there may be the approvable view that relative clauses do not modify but correlate with the host nouns. This relationship is what is called correlative diptych by Lehman (1989) in his hierarchical downgrading parameter, which has the hierarchical position at the middle between parataxis and hypotaxis.

- (49) 

<i>ámit</i>	<i>díšulo</i>	<i>nizá</i>
-------------	---------------	-------------

  
 ámit díš-ul-e nizá-Ø  
 which:Y ground-LOC-ESS spear-ABS  

<i>yábím</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>díšulo</i>
--------------	------------	------------	---------------

  
 i-ya+b'-i-m ké ité díš-ul-e  
 3SG.X:I-get+COP-3SG.X-NPRS CONJN that:Y ground-LOC-ESS  
*yáare* *ité* *yítulo,* *nizá*  
 i-yáar-e ité yít-ul-e nizá-Ø  
 3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS that:Y sludge-LOC-ESS spear-ABS  
*níyan* *taí* *záile* *bim,*  
 n-i-ya'-n teíl záil-e b'-i-m  
 CP-3SG.X:I-get-CP such wise-ESS COP-3SG.X-NPRS  
 'In whichever place the arrow had landed, in that place, down in that sludge,  
 the arrow was stuck in that way,' (Tikkanen 1991: #207)

- (50) 

<i>šon gukúr</i>	<i>biťáne</i>	<i>bésan</i>	<i>sénuma</i>
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 šón+gukúr biťán-e bés-an-Ø sén-um=a  
 Shon.Gukur shaman-ERG what-NSP.SG-ABS say-ADJVLZ=Q  

<i>ke</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>sahíi</i>	<i>maními.</i>
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 ké ité-Ø sahíi man'-m-i  
 CONJN that:Y-ABS correct become-NPRS-3SG.Y  
 'What Shon Gukur had said (= that) turned out true.' (Shon Gukur: #14)

### 8.3.3 Complement clauses

Complement clauses appear with or without the general conjunctive *ke*. There is no indicator word for the end of complement clauses, even though a single complement clause can consist of more than two clauses. They are subordinational clauses that always function as a core argument.

- (51) 

<i>yaaní</i>	<i>sénimi</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>isúmal</i>
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 yaaní sén-m-i ké isé i-sumál-Ø  
 FIL say-NPRS-3SG.HM CONJN that:X 3SG.X:I-tail-ABS

<i>ískilaṭar</i>	<i>díibí,</i>	<i>óor</i>
i-skíl-aṭ-ar	díi+b'-i-Ø	óor
3SG.X:I-face-INS-DAT	come:PFV:3SG.X+COP-3SG.X-PRS	and
<i>iséé</i>	<i>yalát</i>	<i>dukóomaninin</i>
isé-e	yalát	d-gu'-man'-n-n
that:X-ERG	wrong	TEL-2SG:III-become-CP-CP
<i>ṭíko</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>séibáa.</i>
ṭíko-Ø	b'-i-Ø	sén-č+bá-a-Ø
stain-ABS	COP-3SG.X-PRS	say-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS
‘[Shon Gukur] said <u>that</u> the tail is hanging down over its face, and so you see it like that and are saying so.’ (Shon Gukur: #9)		

- (52) *šon gukúre*                      *húke mamúar*  
 šón+gukúr-e                      húke+mamó-ar  
 Shon.Gukur-ERG                  Huke.Mamo-DAT
- |                                                                                                                                              |                          |                          |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>ésimi,</i>                                                                                                                                | <i>ískan</i>             | <i>bi,</i>               |
| i-s'-m-i                                                                                                                                     | i-sk'-an-Ø               | b'-i-Ø                   |
| 3SG.HM:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM                                                                                                                   | 3SG.X:I-young-NSP.SG-ABS | COP-3SG.X-PRS            |
| <i>óor</i>                                                                                                                                   | <i>akhóle</i>            | <i>iphátiaṭe</i>         |
| óor                                                                                                                                          | akhól-e                  | i-phatí-aṭ-e             |
| and                                                                                                                                          | here-ESS                 | 3SG.X:I-forehead-INS-ESS |
| <i>péčan,</i>                                                                                                                                | <i>lágan</i>             | <i>bilá.</i>             |
| péč-an-Ø                                                                                                                                     | lágan-Ø                  | b'-ila-Ø                 |
| patch-NSP.SG-ABS                                                                                                                             | metal.finger.bowl-ABS    | COP-3SG.Y-PRS            |
| ‘Shon Gukur said to Huke Mamo, “[This cow] is in calf, and there is a white patch on the fore head of the young one here.”’ (Shon Gukur: #6) |                          |                          |

The presence and absence of the general conjunctive *ke* show no difference, either semantically or intonationally.

### 9. Shon Gukur (a folktale)

[1]	<i>bahaarí</i>	<i>ṭáimulo</i>	<i>šon gukúr</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>húke mamó,</i>
	bahaarí-e	ṭáim-ul-e	šón+gukúr	ké	húke+mamó-Ø
	spring-GEN	time-LOC-ESS	Shon.Gukur	CONJN	Huke.Mamo-ABS
	of spring	in time	Shon Gukur	and	Huke Mamo

*áltitar dúcám.*

áltit-ar d-u-sú+bá-an-m

Altit-DAT TEL-3PL.H:I-bring+COP-3PL.H-NPRS

to Altit they had brought them

‘In the springtime they had brought Shon Gukur and Huke Mamo to Altit.’

[2]	<i>u</i>	<i>óltalik</i>	<i>húnzue</i>	<i>mašúur</i>	
	<i>biṭáyo</i>				
	ú-Ø	u:lalik	húnzo-e	mašúur	biṭán-čo-Ø
	they:DIST-ABS	3PL.H:II-both	Hunza-GEN	famous	shaman-PL-ABS
	they	both of them	of Hunza	famous	shamans

*bam.*

bá-an-m

COP-3PL.H-NPRS

were

‘Both were famous in Hunza as shamans.’

[3]	<i>óltalik</i>	<i>gáti</i>	<i>numánin</i>
	u:lalik-Ø	gáti	n-man'n
	3PL.H:II-both-ABS	gathering	CP-become-CP
	both of them	together	having become

*hurúṭám.*

hurúṭ+bá-an-m

sit+COP-3PL.H-NPRS

they had sat

‘The two of them were sitting together.’

<b>[4]</b>	<b>óltalik</b> u:l-talik-Ø 3PL.H:II-both-ABS both of them	<b>nuúruṭin</b> n-hurúṭ-n CP-sit-CP having sat	<b>bam,</b> bá-an-m COP-3PL.H-NPRS were	<b>óltalik</b> u:l-talik 3PL.H:II-both both of them
	<b>karagáḍie</b> karagáḍi-e Karagadimuts-GEN of the Karagadimuts clan	<b>káa</b> káa together with	<b>han baṭá</b> hán baṭá one:X bald a piebald	<b>buáan</b> buá-an-Ø cow-NSP.SG-ABS cow
	<b>júçibím.</b> jú-č+b'i-m come-IPFV+COP-3SG.X-NPRS it was coming			

‘The two of them were sitting when a piebald cow came down from Baltit with the Karagadimuts clan.’

<b>[5]</b>	<b>biṭáyue</b> biṭán-čo-e shaman-PL-ERG the shamans	<b>yeécuman,</b> i-ic'-m-an 3SG.Y:I-see-NPRS-3PL.H they saw it	<b>húke mamúe</b> húke+mamó-e Huke.Mamo-ERG Huke Mamo
	<b>šon gukúrar</b> šón+gukúr-ar Shon.Gukur-DAT to Shon Gukur	<b>ésimi:</b> i-s'-m-i 3SG.HM:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM he told him	<b>khóse</b> khós-e this:X-GEN of this
	<b>yuúlulo</b> i-ul'-ul-e 3SG.X:I-belly-LOC-ESS in its belly	<b>isk</b> i-sk'-Ø 3SG.X:I-young-ABS its calf	<b>bi.</b> b'i-Ø COP-3SG.X-PRS is

‘The shamans saw it, and Huke Mamo said to Shon Gukur: “This cow is in calf.”’

<b>[6]</b>	<b>šon gukúre</b> šón+gukúr-e Shon.Gukur-ERG Shon Gukur	<b>húke mamúar</b> húke+mamó-ar Huke.Mamo-DAT to Huke Mamo	<b>ésimi,</b> i-s'-m-i 3SG.HM:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM he told him
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<b>ískan</b>	<b>bi,</b>	<b>óor akhóle</b>
i-sk'-an-Ø	b'-i-Ø	óor akhól-e
3SG.X:I-young-NSP.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.X-PRS	and here-ESS
its calf	is	and here
<b>iphátiaṭe</b>	<b>burúm</b>	<b>péčan,</b>
i-phaṭí-aṭ-e	bur'-um	péč-an-Ø
3SG.X:I-forehead-INS-ESS	white-ADJVLZ	patch-NSP.SG-ABS
at its forehead	white	patch
<b>lágan</b>	<b>bilá.</b>	
lágan-Ø	b'-ila-Ø	
metal.finger.bowl-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS	
round mark	is	

'Shon Gukur said to Huke Mamo, "(This cow) is in calf, and there is a white round patch on the forehead of the young one here.'"

<b>[7]</b>	<b>šon gukúre</b>	<b>sénimi,</b>	<b>be</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>un</b>
	šón+gukúr-e	sén-m-i	bé	yá	ún-Ø
	Shon.Gukur-ERG	say-NPRS-3SG.HM	no	INTERJ	thou-ABS
	Shon Gukur	he said	no	no	you
<b>yalát báa,</b>	<b>isé</b>	<b>ṭíko</b>	<b>apí.</b>		
yalát	bá-a-Ø	isé-Ø	ṭíko-Ø	a-b'-i-Ø	
wrong	COP-2SG-PRS	that:X-ABS	stain-ABS	NEG-COP-3SG.X-PRS	
wrong are	that	stain	is not		
<b>burúm</b>	<b>akhóle</b>	<b>ḍáako</b>	<b>apí.</b>		
bur'-um	akhól-e	ḍáako-Ø	a-b'-i-Ø		
white-ADJVLZ	here-ESS	embroidery.pattern-ABS	NEG-COP-3SG.X-PRS		
white	here	pattarn	is not		

"You are wrong, it is not a white patch," said Shon Gukur.'

<b>[8]</b>	<b>ése</b>	<b>isúmale</b>	<b>múšaṭe</b>	<b>élar</b>
	és-e	i-sumál-e	múš-aṭ-e	él-ar
	that.one:X-GEN	3SG.X:I-tail-GEN	edge-INS-ESS	there-DAT
	of that	of its tail	at the end	there



<i>akhíle</i>	<i>díibilá,</i>		<i>óor</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>éndulo</i>
akhíl-e	díi+b'íla-Ø		óor	isé	énd-ul-e
such-ESS	come:PFV:3SG.Y+COP-3SG.Y-PRS		and	that:X	end-LOC-ESS
such	it has come		and	that	on the end
<i>isé</i>	<i>aqhíirulo</i>	<i>burúm</i>		<i>bilá.</i>	
isé	aqhíir-ul-e	bur'-um		b'íla-Ø	
that:X	last-LOC-ESS	white-ADJVLZ		COP-3SG.Y-PRS	
that	on the end	white		is	

““The tassel on the end of its tail has come there, and it is white.””

<i>[9]</i>	<i>yaaní sénimi</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>isúmal</i>	
	yaaní sén-m-i	ké	isé	i-sumál-Ø	
	FIL say-NPRS-3SG.HM	CONJN	that:X	3SG.X:I-tail-ABS	
	that is he said	that	that	its tail	
<i>ískilaṭar</i>	<i>díibí,</i>		<i>óor</i>	<i>iséé</i>	
i-skíl-aṭ-ar	díi+b'í-i-Ø		óor	isé-e	
3SG.X:I-face-INS-DAT	come:PFV:3SG.X+COP-3SG.X-PRS		and	that:X-ERG	
on to its face	it has come		and	that	
<i>yalát dukóomaninin</i>		<i>burúm</i>	<i>ṭíko</i>	<i>bi</i>	
yalát d-gu'man'-n-n		bur'-um	ṭíko-Ø	b'í-i-Ø	
wrong TEL-2SG:III-become-CP-CP		white-ADJVLZ	stain-ABS	COP-3SG.X-PRS	
wrong having become		white	stain	is	
<i>séibáa.</i>					
sén-č+bá-a-Ø					
say-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS					
you say					

““That is, the tail is hanging down over its face, and so you see it like that and are saying so.””

<i>[10]</i>	<i>óltalike</i>	<i>bée</i>	<i>ya.</i>	<i>óltalik</i>	
	u'-ltalik-e	bé	yá	u'-ltalik-Ø	
	3PL.H:II-both-ERG	no	INTERJ	3PL.H:II-both-ABS	
	both of them	no	no	both of them	

*atúmayman.*

a-d-u-maay'-m-an

NEG-TEL-3PL.H:I-be.peaceful-NPRS-3PL.H

they disagreed

‘Both of them said: “No.” The two disagreed.’

[11]	<i>yáa</i>	<i>téerumanar</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>buá</i>	<i>áltitar</i>
	yá	téer-um-an-ar	isé	buá-Ø	áltit-ar
	INTERJ	so.much-ADJVLZ-NSP.SG-DAT	that:X	cow-ABS	Altit-DAT
	then	in that way	that	the cow	to Altit

*dícuman.*

d-i-sú-m-an

TEL-3SG.X:I-bring-NPRS-3PL.H

they brought it

‘Then presently, men brought the cow into Altit.’

[12]	<i>káman</i>	<i>guncín̄cum,</i>	<i>buá</i>	<i>halkími</i>
	kám-an	gunc'-in̄-c-um	buá-Ø	halk'-m-i
	little-NSP.SG	day-PL-ADE-ABL	cow-ABS	bear-NPRS-3SG.X
	some	after days	the cow	it born

<i>óor</i>	<i>isk</i>	<i>désmanimi.</i>
óor	i-sk'-Ø	d-i'-s-man'-m-i
and	3SG.X:I-young-ABS	TEL-3SG.X:II-CAUS-become-NPRS-3SG.X
and	its calf	it made it

‘Some days later, the cow gave birth and a calf was born to it.’

[13]	<i>isé</i>	<i>buáa</i>	<i>isúmale</i>	<i>mujóq</i>	<i>burúm</i>
	isé	buá-e	i-sumál-e	mujóq-Ø	bur'-um
	that:X	cow-GEN	3SG.X:I-tail-GEN	tassel-ABS	white-ADJVLZ
	that	of the cow	of its tail	the tassel	white
<i>bilúm.</i>		<i>óor</i>	<i>ískilar</i>	<i>kawárd</i>	<i>dálum</i>
b'-ila-m		óor	i-skíl-ar	kawárd	dál-um
COP-3SG.Y-NPRS		and	3SG.X:I-face-DAT	covered	over-ABL
was		and	to its face	covered	over

*manílúm.*

man+b'ila-m

become+COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

it had become

‘The tassel of its tail was white, and it was hanging down over its face.’

<b>[14]</b>	<b>šon gukúr</b>	<b>biťáne</b>	<b>bésan</b>	<b>sénum=a</b>	<b>ke</b>
	šón+gukúr	biťán-e	bés-an-Ø	sén-um=a	ké
	Shon.Gukur	shaman-ERG	what-NSP.SG-ABS	say-ADJVLZ=Q	CONJN
	Shon Gukur	the shaman	what	he said	that

<b>ité</b>	<b>sahíi</b>	<b>maními.</b>
ité-Ø	sahíi	man'm-i
that:Y-ABS	correct	become-NPRS-3SG.Y
that	true	it became

‘What Shon Gukur had said turned out [to be] true.’

<b>[15]</b>	<b>sis</b>	<b>heiráan</b>	<b>umánuman.</b>
	sís-Ø	heiráan	u-man'm-an
	people-ABS	surprised	3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H
	the people	surprised	they became

‘The people were filled with amazement.’

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